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The Influence of War and of Agriculture upon the Religion of Kayans and Sea Dyaks of Borneo.—By Miss MARGARETTA MORRIS, Philadelphia, Penna.

THE native tribes of Borneo afford peculiar opportunities for studying the effect of economic conditions upon religious ideas and customs. In the first place they are comparatively isolated and therefore little affected by foreign influence, which has touched only a fringe of the coast and has not penetrated far enough into the interior to alter the customs of the mass of the people. In the second place, a still greater advantage to the student is in the nature of the material available. For in the British possessions especially, the government officials, the explorers, many of whom have gone out for the special purpose of studying the natives, and I must add, such missionaries as Archdeacon Perham, have been gifted with the invaluable qualities of sympathy and the scientific spirit. Another advantage not to be overlooked is the communicativeness of the people. Unlike the Australians, they seem to have no religious principle of secrecy; on the contrary, the art of self-expression is assiduously cultivated, and the high esteem in which oratory is held induces garrulousness rather than reticence.

For my present purpose I have chosen two tribes of Sarawak, one inland and one coast tribe, to illustrate the economic origin of two religious ideals.

There are two classes of deities worshipped in Borneo which are, if I may be pardoned the colloquial expression, not on speaking terms with each other. They are the tutelary spirits of war and of agriculture. Tuppa, the harvest god of one tribe, is, they say, of so pure and gentle a nature that he cannot endure the fierce gods of war, and will come to no feast where they are invoked.¹

This conflict in the religion represents a conflict in economic pursuits. While the war-path, which is nothing more than a predatory raid, is systematically followed as a means of liveli-

¹ Sir Hugh Low, *Sarawak, its Inhabitants and Productions*, p. 254.

hood; on the other hand, rice culture, for which the climate and soil of Borneo are admirably adapted, is also a widespread dependence. And these two are more or less incompatible, requiring different manner of life, different laws and customs, different organization of society, and different personal qualifications.

In the tribes with which this paper is concerned both these activities are well developed.

The Sea Dyaks, as far back as we can trace them, were a peaceful agricultural people, who came from further inland to the coast in search of new farming lands. Wars on a small scale of course they had, hereditary tribal feuds, and disputes about land. But it remained for the Malays, with whom they came in contact on the coast, to teach them sea-faring, and piracy at the same time. They were apt pupils, and soon could lead the Malays in expeditions for plunder, though rice-growing continued to be their chief occupation and source of wealth.¹

With the Kayans, who inhabit the fertile river valleys of the interior, conquest seems to have preceded cultivation. About a hundred and fifty years ago, they came to the Barram and neighboring river basins, a fierce race of warriors armed with iron weapons, conquering and enslaving the weak agriculturists of that district, and settling down upon their lands. Having settled, they cultivated rice, but only as a secondary dependence. They still live chiefly by trapping and fishing; seeking slaves, land, and plunder from their weaker neighbors whom they are constantly raiding.²

¹ Keppel, *Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H. M. S. Meander*, vol. ii, pp. 102-3, quoted by Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, i. p. 4; Parpar, *North Borneo*, quoted by Roth, i, p. 40; Sir Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, ii, p. 327, quoted by Roth, i, p. 10; Keppel, *Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido* (American edition of 1846), p. 239; Low, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 363; Sir Spencer St. John, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 140.

² The word Kayan is used in two senses by writers on Borneo, to denote a large ethnic group, and a small branch of it. Taking Kayans in the broader sense, they occupy the whole of the interior of the island as far as the Malay coast settlements on the northwest, and the country of the Sea Dyaks on the west, directly across the island to probably a similar distance from the eastern shore. They include the Ukits and Pakatans, examples of the lowest type of roving savages living in trees, as well as many more civilized tribes. According to Sir James Brooke, these all show marks of consanguinity and national character-

As both these tribes are now given to warfare, we find in the religion of both the ideals of war; as both have agriculture, we find in the religion of both the ideals growing out of farming. And in each the degree to which these ideals obtain is directly proportioned to the relative strength of the economic influences.

The religion of war centers about the worship of the heads which are taken from enemies slain in battle, the famous custom of head-hunting with its attendant belief and legend. From being mere trophies, these heads have acquired the attributes of gods, and have gathered a mass of ceremonial and sacrificial customs. Elaborate ceremonies attend their home-coming; feasts are given in their honor; they are sacrificed to, prayed

istics. The present study is concerned with only one of the highest branches of these people, the Kayans proper, a geographical and linguistic group, found in the upper basins of the Barram and adjacent streams.

It is difficult to find an accurate nomenclature for the subdivisions of the natives of Borneo. An ethnic group such as the Kayans hardly differs enough from the other natives to be called a race; while the word "tribe" is already used in three less inclusive senses, (1) to denote the longhouse, or village under one chief, (2) an alliance of villages in the same river basin having similar customs ("in almost every river basin, or even on individual tributaries, the customs of the natives are not the same." Roth, *Introd.*, p. xii), and (3) a quasi-ethnic linguistic or cultural group, such as Kayans proper, living in the same district.

Sir James Brooke in Mundy, *Narrative of Events in Borneo*, i, p. 257; Sir Charles Brooke, i, pp. 72-3 and ii, pp. 300-1, quoted by Roth, i, p. 18; Chief Resident, F. R. O. Maxwell, quoted by Roth, i, p. 15; Hose and McDougall, *Jour. Anth. Inst.* xxxi, p. 188, xxiii, pp. 159, 157, 160; Low, p. 321 ff.; A. C. Haddon, *Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, pp. 323, 360.

The group known as Sea Dyaks may perhaps be taken to correspond with the Kayans in the inclusive sense, though they are not so numerous and do not show so wide variations of culture. As a rule the divisions of Sea Dyaks, such as the Sakaran or Batang Lupars, live each in a river basin (with tributaries) from which it takes its name. But sometimes, as in the case of the Sibuyaues, a tribe has been driven from its original home and scattered. So that now we have several tribes calling themselves Sibuyaues, and speaking the Sea Dyak language with the Sibuyaue accent, living on different rivers, and having slightly different customs, thus forming distinct smaller subdivisions. Within these again are the longhouses or villages, the smallest geographical and political unit, as among the Kayans. Low, p. 166-7; Mundy, ii, p. 114; Sir James Brooke, in Mundy, i, pp. 217, 371; Brooke in Keppel's *Dido*, pp. 54, 61, 177; Roth, i, p. 8.

to, a fire is kept lighted to warm them, and they preside over every village feast, being always given their due portion of the good things.¹

What, we may ask, is the reason that head-hunting has become so large a part of the warrior's religion? The captured head is the symbol of the successful raid, which brings to Kayan or Dyak wealth in plunder and slaves and land, and as a symbol of valuable things has in itself a sort of derived importance. But a deeper cause of its full religious significance is that the deification of skulls has a real economic value to these people.

If a people is going to live by war, it must offer every inducement to the warlike virtues, such as skill in attack and bravery. Efficient incentives are found in the head-hunting customs of these tribes. Kayan parents consider only youths who have taken heads as suitable husbands for their daughters. Among the piratical tribes of the Sea Dyaks, the Sarebas and Sakaran (until the English suppression of head-hunting made this rule unenforceable), custom required that a man should take a head before marrying; but with the Sibuyaus, a Sea Dyak tribe who in consequence of constant reverses have become more peaceable and taken to trade instead of piracy, the requirement has fallen into disuse. An old Sibuyau chieftain lamented its loss as an incentive to bravery.² A further religious goad to war is the irksome mourning taboo after the death of a near relative or a chief, which cannot be lifted until a fresh head is obtained. The removal of the taboo by bringing home a head, described in song as a precious ornament, and compared to a lump of gold, a lump of silver, and various favorite jungle fruits, is the occasion for one of their greatest festivals. The Kayans still practice this taboo strictly; while the Sea Dyaks, coast tribes more under control of the English, find it difficult to get the head, and sometimes have the religious feast without it, or with an

¹ W. H. Furness, *Home Life of the Head Hunters*, pp. 65, 89, 91 ff.; Haddon, pp. 361, 396, 398 ff.; Horsburgh, *Sketches in Borneo*, pp. 28-33, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 169; Low, pp. 206-7.

² Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 168; Low, p. 215; Brooke in Keppel's *Dido*, p. 35; A. H. Everett, *Sarawak Gazette*, No. 78, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 164.

old one borrowed for the occasion.¹ We need only add that bravery is rewarded with individual honors, with permission to wear the sacred hornbill feathers, or to have one's war record tattooed in symbols, to see how the religious customs help make the warrior.²

And indeed not customs alone serve this purpose, but religious beliefs add their quota of hopefulness of success and compensation for disaster. There is a Kayan belief that a certain charm tied to the sword will make it deal death at a single blow.³ When the new boat of the Sea Dyak is launched for piracy, he feels sure of success after the men and women of the tribe have won the spirits' favor by sacrifice and prayer.⁴ Then for both Kayan and Sea Dyak, will not all the birds of the forest aid them with encouraging cries or timely warning of danger? Especially the hawk, the war-bird of many tribes, and father-in-law of all the other birds, who brings messages from the great spirit.⁵ The dangers of the war-path are many; dangers of ambush, of trees half cut through, ready to be pushed down upon the boats as they pass, of snares in the thick undergrowth, and stealthy attack by night.⁶ Is it not reasonable to suppose that the head-hunter would be less strong to face them were it not for his trust in supernatural aid? But supposing his own head should be taken? Then the Kayan warrior will go directly to the happy fields of Long Julan, reserved for those who die in battle; if his record is good he will have no difficulty in crossing the log that bridges the ditch full of slime and maggots, into which an evil demon pushes the coward.⁷

¹ Haddon, p. 395; Archdeacon Perham, *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, No. 14, pp. 295, 299, and No. 2, p. 131; Sir Spencer St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (2d ed.), i, pp. 73, 74, 82, 119.

² Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 168; Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, ii, pp. 130, 134; Haddon, p. 306.

³ Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 74; Ida Pfeiffer, *Meine Zweite Weltreise*, p. 107, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 145.

⁴ St. John, i, 74.

⁵ Hose and McDougall, J.A.I. xxxi, pp. 189, 190; Haddon, p. 387; Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 8, pp. 139, 148, and No. 10, p. 218, and *Mission Field*, 1871, p. 502, quoted by Roth, i, p. 256.

⁶ Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 83.

⁷ Ibid. pp. 6, 76; Furness, *A Sketch of Folk Lore in Borneo*, pp. 14-19; Hose, *Geographical Journal*, i, p. 199, quoted by Roth, i, p. 219.

The Sea Dyaks have likewise a "bridge of fear" which may correspond to the Kayan log. And in the Dyak heaven virtue is rewarded, virtue however of many kinds. Bravery is the virtue *par excellence* of the Kayan, but to the Sea Dyak with his larger interest in agriculture, the virtues of the settled life are equally important.¹

This head-hunting is a beneficent custom, an old chief told Dr. Furness, because it makes your enemies your friends. After death the spirit of the slain warrior renounces his own tribe and becomes the tutelary deity of his captors, bringing them all good fortune.² It is hardly a beneficent custom from our point of view. But from that of a savage tribe, living on the exploits of its members, the religion that cultivates cunning, bravery, and the desire to kill has more than a fictitious advantage.

So much for its influence upon the individual. For the tribe as a whole, the religion of head-hunting provides for the organization of the war-path. One Kayan custom of this sort has a defensive purpose. After a successful raid, the longhouse is tabooed for ten days and no one may leave it. This, as Dr. Furness points out, is evidently to keep the warriors at home to defend the house against the retaliating expedition which is almost certain to come.³ Once more, the good Kayans must destroy all traces of camp when on the war-path, or they will offend the spirits and bring bad luck on the expedition, or in the plain English of utilitarianism, will leave traces of their whereabouts for the benefit of the enemy.⁴ But the greatest need of the tribe in war is obedience and loyalty to the chiefs, which the religion does much to cultivate. In the longhouse the chief has the middle apartment, and just outside of it on the verandah is the lawful place for the venerated skulls to hang.⁵ Such honors and religious marks of respect encourage that faith in the chief by virtue of which he controls his followers.

¹ Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 14, p. 299; Horsburgh, p. 23, quoted by Roth, i, p. 218; Sir Charles Brooke, i, 55, quoted by Roth, i, p. 218; St. John, i, p. 69.

² Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 59-61.

³ Furness, *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁵ Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 5; Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 159.

The authority of the chief, however, varies greatly in the different tribes. Sir James Brooke, after visiting the unwarlike Sibuyau Sea Dyaks, reported little difference in appearance and position between the chief and his most humble follower.¹ Somewhat more compact organization is seen among the Sea Dyak pirates of Sakaran and Sarebas, who found it necessary to have each war-canoe under a chief whose word should be law, and the whole fleet of both tribes under a common leader. It was profitable for the Sakaran and Sarebas to unite thus, and it was possible on account of the juxtaposition of their rivers, which they have connected with artificial jungle paths.² The Kayans, however, are welded into still stronger alliances. Tribes living in the same river basin acknowledge besides the village chief, who controls the war-canoe, the authority of a district chief, whose commands are never disregarded; in which respect he is far above the leader of the Sakaran and Sarebas fleet, who only advises.³ The authority of the chief is greater in proportion to the degree of the tribe's dependence upon warfare, and consequently the head-hunting customs to support this authority are more extensive. The Kayans have several customs to exalt the chief, which, so far as I have been able to determine, belong to them and not to others. Such are the assumption of the funeral taboo by the whole tribe on the occasion of the death of a chief, followed by the ceremony of placing a portion of the skull on the chief's grave when the head-feast removes the taboo;⁴ the naming feast of the chief's son or daughter, when the whole village is called together for the

¹ Sir James Brooke in Keppel's *Dido*, p. 39; Ibid. in Mundy, i, p. 364.

² Low, pp. 169, 183-187.

³ Haddon, pp. 324, 414-415, 359; Low, p. 322; Furness, *Folk Lore*, pp. 5, 9.

⁴ Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 89-94. The mourning taboo, ending in a head-hunt, as observed by the Sea Dyaks, seems to be generally for relatives rather than chiefs. Among the Ballau tribe the death of any member of the tribe necessitates the taboo of the whole country. While the custom itself is similar to the Kayan custom, and in both cases serves as an inducement to warfare, the application among the Sea Dyaks is more democratic. Cf. Mrs. Chalmers, *Gospel Mission*, June, 1859, p. 84, quoted by Roth, i, p. 258; Horsburgh, p. 13, and St. John, i, p. 73.

religious rite and the ensuing merry-making;¹ and the custom (not practiced by the Sea Dyaks) of sacrificing a slave at the grave of a chief to serve him in the next world.² Even in Borneo, religion is, as Bacon says, "the chief band of human society."

If these considerations of its value are not enough to show the origin of head-worship in conquest,³ a further proof may

¹ Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 18; St. John, i, p. 121. Every Kayan child has a "naming feast" before which he or she is not counted as a member of the family. In the case of ordinary parents only the family and a few friends assist. The Sea Dyaks have not the ceremony at the naming of a child, though the "Besant," a ceremony to invoke the good will of the spirits for the child, may be taken to correspond to the Kayan naming ceremony. But the Sea Dyak custom is not universal, and there is no special difference, so far as I can find, between the "Besant" of a chief's child and that of an ordinary child, though probably the magnificence of the feast is proportioned to the resources of the parents. Cf. F. W. Leggatt, quoted by Roth, i, p. 101; Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 8, pp. 135 ff.

² Sir Charles Brooke, i, pp. 36, 74, quoted by Roth, i, p. 157; Burns, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, p. 145; Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 165; Low, p. 335. The Bishop of Labuan states that "Sea Dyaks formerly killed slaves for the use of their dead," *Trans. of the Ethnological Society*, ii, p. 32. But I have failed to find any corroboration of this, and as much of the information in this article is evidently from report rather than personal observation, I think we may be justified in holding some doubt on this point, particularly since evidence points to the fact that slavery, along with piracy, is a recent introduction among the Sea Dyaks, and as they treat their slaves with more consideration and give them more privileges than do other tribes. Cf. St. John, i, p. 88, and Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 210.

³ Numerous theories have been advanced as to the motive for head-hunting, chief of which is that it is to please the women. Doubtless it does please women trained in warrior ideals. And for this Haddon gives an excellent reason: "The fact of a young man being sufficiently brave and energetic to go head-hunting would promise well for his ability to protect a wife," p. 394. Roth adds to this, "the natural bloodthirstiness of the animal in man to account for a great deal of head-taking," ii, p. 163. But a chief's narrative of his own education shows this bloodthirstiness to be less natural than intentionally cultivated. As a boy he shrank from drawing blood, but was hardened to it by being made to kill an old slave woman tied to a tree. After that he didn't mind any more, and when he came to manhood could say that "no man can be brave who doesn't love to see his spear draw blood." Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 62-63. Müller (ii, p. 364-366, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 167), has still another explanation to offer. He denies that the origin of

be found in a comparison of the history of these tribes with the development of their religion.

There is a nomadic tribe in Borneo known as Punans, who are thought to be either a backward branch of the Kayans, or a distinct tribe nearly related to them, and who live by what they can get from day to day in the jungle, having never acquired land and slaves, and not being sufficiently organized to raid for plunder. Now these people, although akin to the Kayans, and holding many religious beliefs in common with them, have no trace of the most important factor of Kayan religion, head-worship.¹ Moreover, according to the Kayans' own accounts, their custom of head-hunting has been in vogue only from eight to ten generations, a time which, curiously enough, corresponds to the time of their conquest of the agricultural tribes and their settlement in the present environment.²

The Sea Dyaks' history likewise shows a growth of head-worship parallel to the increasing economic importance of war. When they were mere agriculturists, fighting only among one another over disputed ownership of land, they used to take the heads of their enemies slain in these battles; but it was not until the Malays taught them to grow rich by piracy that the passion for head-hunting became deeply rooted, and that they went on expeditions for the avowed purpose of getting heads.³

Thus one effect produced upon the religion of these tribes, by the acquisition of wealth through conquest, has been a system

head-hunting is, as is generally supposed, in the necessity of having a head to court a girl, but it is rather, he says, in their "religious superstition." In a difficult or important situation a Dyak promises his deity a head, and the fulfilment of such vows is the cause of much warfare. Sir James Brooke, however, sees that this sort of explanation is putting the cart before the horse, and says that it must be considered that these bloody trophies are the evidences of victory; for "taking heads is the effect and not the cause of war." Keppel's *Dido*, p. 190.

¹ Sir Charles Brooke, i, pp. 72-73, quoted by Roth, i, p. 18; Haddon, pp. 304, 320-323, 327, 384; Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 172-175, 183; Crocker, *Sarawak Gazette*, No. 122, p. 8, and St. John, i, p. 25, quoted by Roth, i, p. 16; Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, pp. 157, 158.

² Hose and McDougall, J.A.I. xxxi, pp. 188-189; Haddon, p. 397.

³ Low, pp. 188-191. If we compare two statements of Sir James Brooke's (Keppel's *Dido*, pp. 141, 173) we see that the Sarebas and Sakaran, the most predatory tribes, are likewise the most addicted to head-hunting.

of beliefs, customs, and ideals of conduct centering about the sacred heads, all of which help to develop the temperament and ability of the successful warrior, and the well-organized military clan.

In both tribes the general principle is the same. But with the more warlike Kayans the taboos are more stringent, the ritual concerned with head-hunting is on a larger scale, and the whole system forms a greater part of their religion than in the case of the more agricultural Sea Dyaks.

I shall stop to mention here only one other effect of the warlike activities of these people upon their religion, and that is the reflection of the warrior organization. As I stated in the beginning, the organization of the tribe for war and the organization for agriculture have antagonistic tendencies. The war-path leads to domination of the fighting men; agriculture to greater importance of the women, who do most of the farm work. Now domination of the men in the tribe means predominance of masculine ideals in the religion. Accordingly among the Kayans, with their necessity for stronger warrior organization, the virile quality is characteristic of their legendary heroes and gods. Their demigods are heroic chieftains, from whom they trace their descent. It was a chief they say, who first learned that to take the heads of their enemies and worship them would bring long life and success.¹ And the war organization has its effect also upon the ritual, which with the Kayans is largely in the hands of chiefs, warriors, and medicine men, the last being more influential than their medicine women.²

In the conflict of these masculine with feminine ideals we see the point of contact of the religion of war and the religion of agriculture.

Among the rice-growing Sea Dyaks, the women, who do nearly all the farm work, are more powerful and have a more exalted position in the tribe than women among the Kayans. Consequently, in Sea Dyak religion feminine ideals are far more conspicuous. While among the Kayans I have found only two goddesses (both connected with farming and prayed to solely

¹ Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 60; *Folk Lore*, p. 7.

² Hose and McDougall, J.A.I. xxxi, pp. 181, 183; Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 95, 161; *Folk Lore*, p. 19.

by women),¹ in the Sea Dyak pantheon there is, rivalling in power the heroic war-gods, a long list of female deities. While nearly all the Kayan divinities are addressed by the prefix "grandfather," I think I am justified in stating that those of the Sea Dyaks more often have the prefix "grandmother."

These "grandmother" deities of the Sea Dyaks come into prominence at the times of the year when attention is centered on the farms. At the beginning of rice-planting the gods are invoked as "Ini," grandmother, indicating, Perham thinks, that they are female deities. One farm goddess is essentially feminine, Ini Andan, the gray-haired goddess, concerning whom the invocation at rice-planting has much to say. She is "chief keeper of broad lands and immenses," where they may get *padi*, and she watches over and protects the farms from blight, harmful insects, and monkeys. Her virtues are the feminine virtues: "To cease working is impossible to her. In the house her hands are never idle."²

But the feminization of the Sea Dyak spirit world is not confined to patron deities of farms. Originating, I think undoubtedly, in the importance of soil culture and the consequent exaltation of women, it has grown and spread over other spheres. The omen birds, even the hawk and hornbill, gods of war, are married to female spirits with individual names and personalities. Other important female spirits are Salampandai, the maker of men, and Telanjang Dara, who lives at a waterfall and takes souls to the land of death. And all the tutelary deities of the *manangs*, i. e. medicine men and women, are called "grandmother."³

The femininity of the deities of these *manangs* is worth considering in regard to a question much discussed, namely, whether the original *manangs* were all women. In support of this view may be urged the curious custom peculiar in Borneo to the Sea Dyaks, of a man who is to become a *manang* assum-

¹ One of these goddesses is Abong Do, wife of the harvest god; the other Do Tenangan, wife of the chief deity Laki Tenangan. Laki Tenangan, though not distinctively a harvest god, is at least in some way connected with farming, since a sacrifice is offered to him at the harvest festival as a thank-offering for plentiful crops. Cf. Hose and McDougall, J.A.I. xxxi, p. 189; Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, i, p. 415.

² Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 8, pp. 135, 142-144.

³ Ibid., p. 145; *ibid.*, No. 2, pp. 126, 129, 130; *ibid.*, No. 19, p. 102.

ing at his initiation the dress and habits of women, in which he continues for the rest of his life.¹ Perham thinks this was once required of all men who became *manangs*, that it is an old custom gradually falling into disuse. And this appears probable, since we find the custom prevalent to-day only in out of the way tribes of Sea Dyaks, untouched by foreign influence. If Perham is right, it seems to me more than likely that manangism was originally a profession of women, and that men were gradually admitted into it, at first only by becoming as much like women as possible.²

However this may be, it is at least beyond a doubt that, as we found feminine spirits much more important in the Sea Dyak pantheon than in the Kayan, the part taken by women in the religious ritual of the former is likewise much greater. It is true that medicine women exist among the Kayans, and in a description of a feast it is related that the men when taking the omens from strips of bamboo consulted the old women of the tribe.³ Yet the medicine women seem to be not so numerous or important as among the Sea Dyaks. Among the latter,

¹ A similar custom, according to Sir James Brooke (Mundy, ii, p. 65), is found in a district in Celebes. It is an interesting question whether the similarity of customs in Borneo and Celebes points to a common origin of the natives, or is due to a similarity of conditions. Sir James Brooke believed that the Kayans originally came from Celebes, and advanced as one reason for this belief the difference of many Kayan customs from those of the Dyaks, and the fact that the Kayans have one striking custom in common with the Minkokas of Celebes, that of seeking for a head after the death of a relative, and for many heads after the death of a chief (Keppel's *Dido*, p. 337). But if one argues in this way for the Celebes origin of the Kayans, one must apply the same reasoning to the Dyaks, with their Celebes' practice of feminized medicine men. Moreover, as we have seen, the Sea Dyaks, as well as the Kayans, do seek a head after the death of a relative. That they do not make greater raids, and impose the mourning taboo on the whole tribe after the death of a chief, I have already accounted for by the fact that the Kayan chiefs have greater authority, and hence the need of more religious honor to support it.

² Brooke Low, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 270-271; Brooke, in Mundy, ii, p. 65; Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 19, p. 102. According to the legends of two Land Dyak tribes, the art of medicine and all the magic paraphernalia were given by "Tuppa" to a woman, who in turn taught her successors. Chalmers, in Grant's *Tour*, pp. 133-152, quoted by Roth, i, p. 309.

³ Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 33, 41.

only the women may touch the images of birds made for the combined head- and harvest-feast, and it is the women on this occasion who take down the old skulls and carry them in the dance. The men who have assumed female attire are far more sacred and powerful than the ordinary medicine-men. And, finally, the professional wailers for the dead, who help the souls on their way to Hades, are nearly always women.¹ What religious importance is given to women among the Kayans is centered about agriculture. It is their duty to see that the fine for breaking harvest taboos is paid. Their one chance to be conspicuous is when they take prominent part in the harvest festival. For this they don all their finery, and (note in passing the comparison with the Sea Dyak feminized *manangs*) some of them assume men's clothes and carry shield, spear, and sword.²

One influence of agriculture is thus seen in a feminizing of the religion, directly proportioned in these two tribes to the relative importance of farming, and growing out of the women's service in the fields, as the prestige of the warrior and the idea of gods as chieftains and heroes grew out of the organization of the war-path.

Another effect of the farm life is a system of ethics to meet its needs, which presents a sharp contrast to the laws of battle. A farm goddess of the Sea Dyaks exhorts her followers to "spread a mat for the traveller, to be quick in giving rice to the hungry, . . . not to give the fingers to stealing, or allow the heart to be bad." Here is the other side of character of one of the fiercest and most treacherous piratical tribes.³

In its peaceful ethics, and in its exaltation of the feminine, the influence of the agricultural organization has permeated all the Dyak religion, endowing even the virile war-gods, as we have seen, with influential wives. Agriculture claims as its exclusive province a group of deities, whose nature I shall stop a moment to consider.

A much loved object of worship is the Pleiads, the "seven-chained stars," by whose movements both Kayans and Dyaks know when to prepare the jungle and when to plant.⁴ Then,

¹ Furness, *Head Hunters*, p. 65; Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 14, p. 289.

² *Ibid.*, p. 163.

³ Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 8, p. 143.

⁴ Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 168; Furness, *Folk Lore*, p. 21; Haddon, p. 381.

like other peoples depending largely upon agriculture, the Sea Dyaks worship the sun, to whom they pray at the beginning of farming as "the eye of day," the light-giving and the heat-giving, and whom they address by the title appropriate to a high Malay official. The sun is the second deity mentioned in the Sea Dyak planting invocation. The first is Pulang Gana, the tutelary deity of the soil, who presides over the whole of farming, and to whom they sacrifice on the fields. He and Singalong Burong, the hawk war-god, are the two deities most real to the Sea Dyaks. Pulang Gana is not the only earth god. One tribe at least believes in three more specialized spirits: "Seregendah, who has charge of the stiff clay earth," "Seleledu, who has charge of the little hills," and "Seleleding, who has charge of the highlands." After the sun and the earth-god, is invoked the rice-spirit, the "soul of the rice," "Saniang Padi;" and then Ini (grandmother) Andan, of whom I have spoken before¹ (above, p. 241).

The Kayans, so far as I have been able to learn, have besides the Pleiads but one agricultural god, known as the harvest god, who lives far away with his wife; though perhaps a beginning of sun-worship is seen in their fondness for the sun, in connection with the Pleiads, as a design in tattooing and ornament.²

What all these definitely agricultural deities show is worship of the forces of nature that condition a successful crop and thus determine plenty or starvation, an instance of the general tendency toward idealization of the useful.

I cannot leave this discussion of the effect of agriculture upon religion without at least mentioning the striking institution of harvest taboo, observed by Kayans and other tribes, and very likely by Sea Dyaks as well (though of this I have no definite information), whereby practical common sense is enforced by religious authority.

From the time when the real labor of clearing the jungle begins until planting is over, no stranger may interfere with the work by entering the house or fields. A small offering must atone for any accidental infringement of this rule. But the stricter taboos occur at harvest time. One is that no one may

¹ Perham, J.S.A.S., No. 8, pp. 137, 141, 146, 148; *ibid.*, No. 10, pp. 213, 226.

² Low, p. 325.

eat the new rice while reaping; it must all be stored and kept to use economically as needed. And yet the store of last year's rice has become low by this time. That it might not altogether give out, there has been a taboo at planting time of the wooden mortars in which it is kept. They are enclosed by bamboo railings to keep out human beings and dogs. If an unruly dog jumps the railing, the owner of the mortar rubs its hair the wrong way with a cord, while repeating a religious formula. And the dog, they say, is sure to die soon afterwards. Dr. Furness gives as a reason for this that "the store of rice will last but a short time if those mortars be touched by any hands other than those whose duty it is to use them." After the harvest, for eight days, no one may go on an expedition or return from one. And then as soon as this taboo is lifted a still stricter one is enforced; no one may go into the house except those residing in it, and even they may not enter each other's rooms. Anyone may taboo his own room, but it is the prerogative of the chief to taboo the house, or even at his discretion the whole river.¹ The object of this, according to Hose, is that they do not wish the extent of their harvests to be known and attract raiders.

I hope that, without going into details, I have been able to give some impression of two aspects of the religion of these tribes: the more warlike Kayans having elaborate worship of heads and strong warrior gods, and recognizing only slightly feminine influences and the gods of agriculture; the Sea Dyaks, though in their capacity of pirates they are also head-worshippers and protégés of war-birds and legendary heroes, yet, through their larger interests in farming, acknowledging as well feminine divinities and a feminine priesthood, together with many well developed nature deities of harvest.

¹ Hose, J.A.I. xxiii, p. 170; Hose and McDougall, J.A.I. xxxi, p. 191; Furness, *Head Hunters*, pp. 160-165. In writing of the Land Dyaks, Low says that the custom of taboo on the new rice "was doubtless intended in its original institution, to prevent the prevalence of idleness Could they eat of the new rice many of them would perhaps from idleness delay the preparing of their farms, hoping to borrow, and thus become indebted to their more industrious neighbors; but with this curious but useful practice before them, they all plant at one time and can only become indebted toward the end of the season" (p. 302). The harvest taboo has long been familiar as a characteristic of the Polynesians.

These two aspects are of course but a part of their religion. Nor have there been even mentioned many beliefs and customs which rightly come within the scope of this paper. But enough has been said, I think, to show that an important part of the religion of these tribes has grown out of the life of the war-path and the life of the farm.

The psychological processes by which this came about are by no means simple, nor can any one generalization cover them. But it may be worth while to restate some obvious principles already suggested. In the first place, the native as warrior has deified the trophies of his exploits, feeling that in some way this is beneficial, though not understanding its real advantage, which is to develop courage and loyalty, and so surround the worship with fictitious sanctions. As agriculturist he has recognized his dependence upon certain forces and therefore worshipped them. Thirdly, he imagines that those virtues which a half appreciated experience has proved helpful both in war and in farming are approved by the supernatural powers; and in the fourth place, he has mirrored in his pantheon and in his incipient priesthood the social and political organization best adapted to his combined pursuits of war and agriculture.

This discussion of two aspects of Bornean religion is merely fragmentary. Its special interest lies in the fact that it furnishes an excellent illustration of some general principles of religious development. The deification of the useful and the harmful shows the influence of economics upon religion. This many people admit, if not to its full significance, and it is illustrated here by the worship of the Pleiads, of the sun, and of the soil. Another statement of economic effect, perhaps less widely accepted, is that the industrial organization is reflected in the nature of the gods and in the religious ritual, a statement exemplified in these tribes by the masculine ideals of the warrior, the feminine ideals of the agriculturist.¹ In a former gen-

¹ This principle was suggested by Dr. Keasbey in the course of his sociological work, and was tested and found to hold true by Professor Barton (*Semitic Origins*, ch. iii), in regard to the Semites, and by Miss Stites in regard to the Iroquois Indians. These tribes, in which as usual the women took charge of the agriculture, worshipped "Mother Earth" and also several feminine plant deities, and some of their "Keepers of the Faith," officiating at agricultural festivals, were women.

eral survey, I advanced a third theory, which is illustrated here by the worship of heads and the various harvest taboos, namely, that beliefs and customs gain a foothold in proportion to the benefits society derives from them. I do not suppose that these cover the whole ground; nor indeed that a complete explanation has been given by the principles thus far formulated. They are hardly more than results of a preliminary disentanglement, and there is much work yet to be done before we can understand the full influence of economics upon religion and of religion upon economics.